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ECCE MEDICUS,
OR
HAHNEMANN
AS A MAN
AND
AS A PHYSICIAN.



Ecce Medicus,

OR

H A H N E M A N N

AS A MAN AND AS A PHYSICIAN,

AND THE LESSONS OF HIS LIFE.

Being the First Hahnemannian Lecture, 1880.



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BY

J. COMPTON BURNETT, M.D.

Es liebt die Welt, das Strahlende zu schwaerzen.



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THIS FIRST
HAHNEMANNIAN LECTURE
IS DEDICATED TO
WILLIAM BAYES, Esq., M.D.,
IN ADMIRATION OF HIS PUBLIC SPIRIT
AND FAR-SEEING WISDOM,
AS SHOWN IN THE ESTABLISHMENT AND
MAINTENANCE OF THE
LONDON SCHOOL OF HOMŒOPATHY.



PREFACE.

ON sending this *Hahnemannian Lecture* to press, it is right to remark that, in deference to the expressed wish of valued friends, certain expressions that were made use of in delivering it have been omitted. The substance, however, remains the same. To say a thing in simple homely Saxon is often apt to shock ; such is better told with the tamed tongue of a Talleyrand, and with *surtout point de zèle.*


It has not been deemed wise to

extend the subject by following up Hahnemann's history at Coethen and Paris: that would have involved a consideration of his tripartite pathology; and the Parisian episode has but little scientific interest so long as his latest writings are beyond our reach.

The following pages, therefore, contain the first *Hahnemannian Lecture* essentially as it was delivered at the London Homœopathic Hospital in Great Ormond Street last October.

J. C. BURNETT.

HOLLES STREET,
CAVENDISH SQUARE, W.,
January, 1881.





HAHNEMANN
AS A MAN AND AS A PHYSICIAN,
AND THE LESSONS OF HIS LIFE.

GENTLEMEN,

At a meeting of the authorities of the London School of Homœopathy, held in this building on July 12th, 1880, it was proposed by Major Vaughan Morgan, and seconded by the Earl of Denbigh, "That it is desirable that a Lecture be delivered explanatory of the History of Hahnemann's Discovery of

Homœopathy, illustrating its Principles and the Life and Works of its Founder ; that such Lecture shall be delivered annually, in place of the Introductory School Lecture, by a lecturer to be appointed each year by the Committee of the School in accordance with Rule V."

This was passed unanimously, and the speaker was asked to deliver the first lecture under arrangements to be made by the sub-committee consisting of Drs. Bayes, Hughes, and Yeldham.

Thus, Gentlemen, I stand before you to-day to carry out the intention of the London School of Homœopathy in this regard.

May this first Hahnemannian Lecture be the starting-point of a genuine, free, and manly appreciation of him whom

the Earl Cairns, not long since, very justly designated the greatest benefactor of his age.

We, whose duty it is to hand on a *true* history of Samuel Hahnemann to our children and to posterity, could not well adopt a better plan than that of a yearly Lecture on the subject of his Life and Labours; and it is with the desire of bearing my share of this sacred duty that I beg leave now to address you.

Some account it a shameful thing to be a believer in homœopathy or in its founder, because, forsooth, the powers that be have decreed the former a delusion and the latter an unworthy outcast from the fold of the true *Ecclesia medica catholica*. As for me, I count it the proudest day of my life to be permitted

to stand here and endeavour to vindicate the honour of the master, than whom a kinder or purer man, a greater *savant*, a profounder thinker, or a truer physician the world has but seldom seen.

It is not unknown to you that the very vilest slanders have been hurled against him ; the highways and by-ways of all the languages of Europe—nay, of the world—are literally strewn with these slanders, in order thereby to damn the man and make his name a by-word in the mouths of the people.

Medicinemongers and leeches, worshipful companies of apothecaries, colleges of physicians and surgeons—royal and imperial—have all united to do him to death ; the serial journals of the world, medical and surgical, have with

one accord combined to bespatter his name with dirt, or they have entered into a conspiracy of silence to mum him and his homœopathy to death.

For eighty-one years Hahnemann has been thus treated, and yet there are some six or seven thousands of physicians and surgeons in the world who swear by him as by a holy prophet, and millions of the human race have cause to daily bless his memory ; and I venture to predict that in the ripeness of time the peoples of the world will unite to give him a high place, not merely in the *Panthéon* at Paris, or in our own Westminster Abbey, but in the great Walhalla of mankind.

But that time is not yet ; and no one here, not even the youngest, is likely to

live to see it. Ours is the seed-time ; let us see to it that we sow the sound seed of truth, and tend it carefully, and root up the weeds of hatred, ignorance, slander, and prejudice, in the sure and certain hope that such time will come although we may not be there to witness it.

To this end it is of vast importance, alike in the interest of medical science and of our common humanity, that the *real* Hahnemann and the labour of his life should be held up in the clearest possible light.

It is also needful that the labour of his life should be frequently examined afresh for the benefit of successive rising generations, who do not always know much of what was done even a few

decades ago, and that we may have a standard whereby to measure the fashionable foibles of the hour.

For there is fashion in physic, and the pigmies of the day are very apt to appear mighty giants, unless the deeds of the great dead be present with us.

Hence, I take it, the far-seeing wisdom of a yearly Hahnemannian Lecture, so that we may learn and re-learn the lessons of his life.

Much misconception of Hahnemann's labours and teachings exists even amongst some of his disciples, and it will be the privilege of the Hahnemannian lecturers, from time to time, to throw as much light as they can thereon ; and may we all catch the true spirit of the mighty man and fervid physician, that

it may not be said of our lesson-learning what the *Faeger* said of the *Wachtmeister* in Schiller's "Wallensteins Lager :"

" Sie bekam euch übel, die Lektion.
Wie er räuspert und wie er spuckt,
Das habt ihr ihm glücklich abgesehen ;
Aber sein Schenke, ich meine, sein Geist
Sich nicht auf der Wachparade weist."

No, Gentlemen, the genius of the great general does not show itself on parade, when playing at soldiers is going on, but in battle. So the genius of Hahnemann's teachings cannot be found by the dandy doctor *à la mode*, or by the mere scientist or book-worm or dead-house pathologist, but rather in reading the book of nature with a humble, receptive mind, and with the aid of Hahnemann's bio-pathology ; and in

treating the living sick according to his law. Did I say *his* law? I mean Nature's law, which he first saw IN A CLEAR LIGHT, and which he practically elaborated for us, thereby firmly fixing the treatment of the sick upon a scientific groundwork.

THE BOY HAHNEMANN.*

Will you come with me now and let us scrutinize the boy Samuel Hahnemann? But, before doing so, just go over in your minds the early preparatory history of any of the heroes of our race,

* Born April 10, 1755.

and you will almost invariably find that *before* the real life-work began there had been a trialful preparation, then a *Sturm- und Drang-Periode*, and then comes the working out of the individual redemption.

Hahnemann was destined to meet with enormous difficulties, to encounter unheard-of opposition, and then to come out victor over all. So he was not born of rich parents or nursed in the lap of luxury. He was not "swaddled, rocked, and dandled"* into his life's work. Great reformers do not come that way. Scions of noble houses are often great leaders of men, but not because they are scions of noble houses, but because they

* "I was not swaddled, rocked, and dandled into a legislator."—*Burke*.


still retain the pith and marrow of the original founders of their families.

Hahnemann was, however, not the offspring of vulgar or illiterate parents : his parents were indeed poor, but they were, nevertheless, people of taste and refinement, notably his father, who was a painter on porcelain in Saxony ; for poverty, happily, neither excludes genius nor culture.

We should expect the son of an artist to become a man of refinement and taste : such was Hahnemann. He was of small stature and of a delicate constitution ; not a man of muscle, but of iron will and indomitable perseverance. Yet he must have been well-knit, for he lasted nearly ninety years.

You know the old saw—*She who rocks the cradle, rules the world*—and hence I wish I could draw you a word-picture of Hahnemann's mother, for mothers make our men; but the material necessary for such a delineation was not at my disposal: yet, perhaps, it matters little, as the real history of a mother is written by the lives of her children.

Of Hahnemann's father we know sufficient to be sure that he was no ordinary man, inasmuch as he taught the young Samuel *to think* for himself, for which purpose he is said to have shut him up alone, and *given him a theme to think out*. How many fathers show such a knowledge of what true education means in its etymological sense, viz., a leading or *drawing-out*?



Without these lessons in thinking the young Hahnemann would never have studied medicine, for he did so in the teeth of parental opposition, and without them he would never have discovered scientific homœopathy.

The great anatomist Hyrtl was wont to relate how as a little boy he used to study the anatomy of his throat with the aid of a hand-glass; and he was fond of exclaiming at the close of the story—*Was Essig werden soll, muss früh sauer werden!* *

So with Hahnemann: as a lad he wrote an essay on the human hand. He had an excellent education, first at the Communal School till he was twelve years of age, and then at the Grammar

* "What is to be vinegar, must soon get sour!"

School of his native place,* and was moreover the pet pupil of his master (the Rector) from whom he received friendly instruction in his free time; and so well did he profit by this large-hearted instruction, that he was an accomplished linguist at the age of twenty, when he left Meissen for Leipsic, to study medicine.

Hahnemann began already at the Grammar School to be a teacher of his fellows; and already at the age of thirteen he was so far advanced in his knowledge of Hebrew as to be able to give lessons in that tongue. †

* Meissen has also the honour of being the birthplace of the two brothers Schlegel. The little town is in the kingdom of Saxony, at the confluence of the Elbe and the Meisse.

† 1. "Biographie universelle ancienne et


He was not permitted to go away to the universities to study medicine without having first been subjected to parental opposition, for we are told that his father compelled him to take a situation in some business; or, rather, his father's poverty made it an apparent necessity. But trade was so distasteful to the ambitious and gifted boy Hahnemann that he fell ill in consequence, and then he was permitted to follow the bent of his noble mind. We have here

moderne," par M. Michaud. Paris. Art. S. Hahnemann.

2. "Treue Bilder aus dem Leben der verewigten Frau Hofrath Johanne Henriette Leopoldine Hahnemann, geb. K  chler. Berlin, 1865.

3. Hahnemann's grandson, Dr. S  ss Hahnemann, of London, informs me that this statement is strictly correct.

the key to his subsequent successes ; for what greater opposition can there be offered to the onward career of any man than that of his own parents and poverty combined? When a lad has the stuff in him to conquer father and mother and poverty combined, what possible concatenation of adverse circumstances in after life is likely to thwart him? And so we find him, then, at twenty *en route* for Leipsic University, and already at that age thoroughly acquainted with German, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and English. To know eight languages already at the age of twenty is, you will admit, not a bad preliminary education.



THE STUDENT HAHNEMANN.

It was his extensive knowledge of languages that enabled him to gain a livelihood while studying medicine and after taking his degree. It was this same linguistic knowledge that subsequently was the means of his great discovery, as we shall presently see.

History tells us that Hahnemann had not the means to pay for his classes at the University of Leipsic, and that he enjoyed the privilege of free instruction. It is right to explain that this has been a common thing in German universities from time immemorial, and it is not there thought by any means an undignified thing to receive gratuitous instruction, as

it is the *right* of poor students, especially such as matriculate with honours, as Hahnemann evidently did. Many of the most renowned professors in Germany were thus educated ; for instance, Skoda, Oppolzer, and Hyrtl. Such students are not regarded as receivers of alms, but as being educated by the State, which pays and pensions its professors to educate its promising young citizens. Such men, also, most frequently fill the professorial chairs in after years. To this is largely due the astounding erudition of the German professorate that is justly a source of pride for the German fatherland and the admiration of the world of science and letters.*

* Some ten or a dozen years ago Professor Billroth, of Vienna, proposed to arrange the

Thus Hahnemann was already, as a student, a man of great acquirements. Not the least of his acquirements was that of the autodidact in its grandest sense. Who in this world ever rose to eminence in learning other than autodidactically?

No doubt it is immensely important to receive sound instruction at school and university, but those who mount the ladder of life begin to learn where teachers cease to instruct: so did Hah-

medical curriculum, in Austria, with the avowed object that only students of some means could possibly enter the profession. In the heated controversy that ensued it transpired that nearly *all* the noted, then teaching, professors of the Vienna School (Rokitansky, Hyrtl, Skoda and Oppolzer) had been *poor* students!

nemann. In Leipsic he earned his living by translating scientific works from the English and French, for which he was paid by the publishers.

It might, not unnaturally, be asked how it was possible for the young Hahnemann to study medicine and gain his daily bread at the same time. He managed it in this wise: he sat up all night at his translation work every third night, and this became such a habit that he continued to do so for more than forty years. This also explains how he found time for his enormous literary labours in after years.

And, oddly enough, he not only managed to live during the two years he heard lectures at the Leipsic University, but he also contrived to save a

little money, and thus became enabled to extend his field of observation; so we find him at the end of this period passing from the University of Leipsic to that of Vienna, one of the most renowned Schools of Medicine of the world, where he enjoyed the friendship of Professor von Quarin, by whom he was treated as a son, and who took great pains to teach him the practice of medicine. What was there, then, in this poor young Saxon that endeared him thus to his teachers? Clearly he was an extraordinary youth.

After a stay of an *annus medicus*, he accepted the post of librarian and family physician to the Governor of Transylvania, at Hermannstadt, the new home of his Saxon fellow-countrymen.

The learned Dr. Dudgeon, in his "Biography of Hahnemann,"* tells us that Hahnemann resided two years at Hermannstadt; but this can hardly be, for, as Dr. Dudgeon himself states, Hahnemann removed to graduate in Erlangen in 1779, and this was in August.


It is to be remembered that Hahnemann *practised* in various parts of Lower Hungary during this period. He was either not altogether or else not all the time attached to the Governor's service, or the Governor must have resided in various places. This is clear from Hahnemann's remark on page 114 of the second volume of his translation of Cullen's *Materia Medica*, where he says,

* Lectures on Homœopathy.

in regard to Cullen's opinion that engorgements of internal organs do not constitute a contra-indication for the bark in ague—"The author (Cullen) is wrong; he would appear to have been unacquainted with the stubborn intermittents of hot fenny countries. I (Hahnemann) observed such in Lower Hungary, more particularly in the fortified places of that country, which owe their impregnability to the extensive marshes around them. I saw such in Carlstadt, Raab, Comorn, Temesvar, and Hermannstadt," &c., &c. And from the subsequent detailed remarks it is clear that he must have had practical experience in these places of sufficient extent to observe the courses of the various kinds of ague of the very worst

types, and also their concomitants and sequels.

Those of us who have seen the human wrecks that even at this day come in large numbers from the low-lying marshy plains of Hungary to the *Allgemeines Krankenhaus* in Vienna, will have a very concrete conception of the enormous practical advantages which Hahnemann enjoyed in observing the worst forms of disease that can ever fall to the lot of any physician; for in malarial districts such as those in which Hahnemann spent these two years in active practice, and of which he thus gives an account, we have in the wake of their pernicious intermittents the most severe forms of heart, lung, liver, spleen, kidney, and abdominal affections, with all



varieties of dropsy, and to have gone to school in such a place means, at the very least, much practical experience.


Be it noted that this was all before he graduated as doctor of medicine at the ripe age of twenty-four years and not quite four months.

Thus we have seen our youthful Hahnemann at the Communal and Grammar schools of his native place, Meissen, until he was twenty years of age, and then we find him studying medicine, first in Leipsic and then in Vienna—my own dear old *alma mater*—and then in practice in a district full of disease, and finally graduating at the age of twenty-four. And, be it remembered, earning his living and paying his

way during the whole of his medical curriculum.

I dwell somewhat largely on the practical professional education of Hahnemann because some of his detractors try to persuade us and themselves that he was not a physician at all, but something else—a librarian, a teacher, a translator, a book-worm, a chemist, anything, but not a physician.

You have seen that his farewell grammar school thesis was "On the Human Hand," and if you only read the footnotes to his very earliest translations, you will agree with me that he was already at twenty-five a notable physician. Notable, I say, for some men see more in a year than others in a lifetime. Many a man has grown



gray in the wards of hospitals, and yet has never seen anything.

We have made the acquaintance of the schoolboy Hahnemann, and of the student Hahnemann.

Gentlemen, I beg you will now come with me and take a look at

DOCTOR HAHNEMANN.


I have seen a painting of the young Doctor Hahnemann painted by his father on a fan representing the young Æsculapius giving physic to his first patient, a shoemaker. Little did his good father then dream what a son he had begotten; let us study him a little closely. He is one of the *chefs d'œuvre* of the Creator.

By the way, why did Hahnemann go to Erlangen for his doctor's hat rather than to Leipsic? Because the graduation fees at Erlangen were much less there than at Leipsic. This information I have from his grandson, Dr. Süss Hahnemann, who resides in our midst.

The subject of Hahnemann's inaugural thesis was "*Conspectus affectuum spasmodicorum ætiologicus et therapeuticus.*"

We come at once to his wanderings, and to the *Sturm und Drang* period of his life.

First he goes to a little place called Hettstädt, and then to the small capital Dessau, where he devoted himself particularly to the study of chemistry and mineralogy, and also as it would seem



to the no less agreeable occupation of courting the fair German maiden, Miss Henrietta K  chler, the daughter of an apothecary at Dessau.

He afterwards became medical officer of health at Gommern near Magdeburg, and there in 1782 he led the young lady to the altar.

We owe much to this noble woman, who was a beautiful character, and stood by him as a true companion and a faithful loving wife in the many terrible trials that were in store for him ; but for her love and encouragement he would often have found the burden of his life an unbearable one. In after years he would often take her endearingly by the hand and exclaim, " Darling, but for thy loving support I could not bear it."

Mankind thus owes much to this noble *Deutsche Frau*, and in connection with our great medical reform she deserves our grateful remembrance.

Learned colleagues, do not think that in this hall the mention of a woman is out of place, for the influence of Hahnemann's wife has been a blessed one in the life of her illustrious husband, and has thus helped to bring health and happiness into many hearts and homes all the world over. Honour then to her who loved and helped him when well nigh all were against him.

But Gommern soon became unbearable for Hahnemann, and he left it after a two years' stay, and betook himself to polite and polished Dresden, the home of learning and culture. Here Hahne-


mann soon became a favourite with the leading men, and particularly with the eminent chief surgeon of the hospital, Dr. Wagner, who formed such a high opinion of his abilities that he chose him to take his place—the highest medical post in the country—during a long illness.

Remember, gentlemen, this was the pre-homœopathic Hahnemann who was thus chosen to temporarily fill the place of the highest medical functionary of his country. He was no longer the poor struggling student or the obscure parish doctor, but his professional position was one of which any physician at any period of life would be proud. I do not mean merely because he was thus, for a time, as a very young man called to such a

responsible position, but he had also by this time made a name for himself in the world of medicine and of science, and his literary labours had carried his fame far beyond the confines of his own immediate country.

In 1786 he published his work on Arsenical Poisoning that is even now authoritative.

If you want to know Hahnemann's frame of mind at this period, you will find it in the introduction to this book *On Arsenical Poisoning*, which is dedicated "To the Majesty of the Good Kaizer Joseph," and called by the author his firstling. You will see it is full of the bitterness of despair at the miserable condition in which he found practical medicine, and in it he appears to us as



an expert medical jurist and practical toxicologist. He evidently had his back to practical medicine at this period (1786), for he says : " A number of causes, I care not to count them up, have for centuries been dragging down the dignity of that divine science of practical medicine, and have converted it into a miserable grabbing after bread (Brodklauberei), a mere cloaking of symptoms, a degrading prescription trade, a very God-forgotten handiwork, so that the real physicians are hopelessly jumbled together with a heap of befrilled medicine-mongers. How seldom is it possible for a straightforward man by means of his great knowledge of the sciences and by his talents to raise himself above the crowd of medicasters, and to throw such a pure

bright sheen upon the Healing Art at whose altar he ministers that it becomes impossible even for the common herd to mistake a glorious benign evening star for mere vapoury skyfall ! (Sternschnuppen). How seldom is such a phenomenon seen, and hence how difficult it is to obtain for a purified science of medicine a renewal of her musty letters of nobility."

In 1787 he wrote a treatise on the advantages of using coal as a means of warming, there being at that time much prejudice against its use.

In 1789 he wrote a work entitled "Instruction for Surgeons in the Treatment of the Venereal Disease," and at this same period he wrote many important articles in Crell's *Chemical Annals* on chemical subjects, and amongst

these : " Chemical Investigations on the Nature of Gall and Gallstones," and another "On Antiseptics." And he also published about this time in Baldinger's *Magazin* the mode of making the preparation of quicksilver that to this day is known in Germany as the *Mercurius solubilis Hahnemanni*.

Then he occupied himself with the question of the "Insolubility of Certain Metals."

Hereupon he wrote in Blumenbach's *Bibliothek* "On the Means of Avoiding Salivation and other Ill Effects of Mercury," and in Crell's *Annals* "On the Preparation of Glauber's Salt."

His enormous literary activity, coupled with his practical work in the chemical laboratory and his extraordinary know-

ledge, both in medicine and chemistry, began at this time to fix the attention of men of science and practice upon him, and he was accordingly elected a Member of the *Oekonomische Gesellschaft* in Leipsic, and a Fellow of the Academy of Sciences of Mayence.

HAHNEMANN IN THE SLOUGH OF DESPOND.

Gentlemen, we are still in the presence of the pre-homœopathic Hahnemann; he is thirty-five years of age, and thus barely in the prime of his years and mental development; he has already

practised a dozen years as a physician, and it is fifteen years since he left his father's roof to go to study at Leipsic ; he is happily married, the head of a large family, and enjoys a considerable reputation as a physician and as a man of science and letters. He returns to that Leipsic which had been the seat of the early student life and labour,

And what next ? He suddenly gives up the practice of physic in disgust. He has lost all faith in physic, and believes ordinary medicine worse than nothing ; not only no good, but a positively hurtful art.

From the frame of mind in which he wrote the introduction to his book on *Arsenical Poisoning* (in which he had already his back to the practice) to a

total giving-up of such practice is a very great distance *for a poor man* with nothing else to fall back upon.

And then he had practised medicine with more than ordinary success. His detractors ask us to believe that he had no patients, and that it was practical medicine which gave him up, and not he it. But this is merely a falsehood ; he absolutely refused to continue to treat those who had long been his patients, declining to live by practising a system of medicine that experience at the bedside had taught him was far worse than useless.

At this period of the world's history a revolutionary spirit was in men's


minds, and a medical revolution was brewing in Samuel Hahnemann's brain. Was he conscious of it? I think not. Was God's hand leading him in this mighty matter? So it seems to me.

You will agree with me that a violent storm of doubt and fear was raging in this man's mind; it raged to some effect, for it swept everything before it except his uprightness, his honesty of purpose, and his mighty manhood.

We shall have a concrete conception of the terrific nature of this psychic whirlwind when we bear in mind that he had no fortune beyond his practice, for his literary labours at this period were purely scientific, and mostly un-

remunerative; he had comparative monetary ease in his practice, could give an elegant home to his loved ones and an adequate education to his children, who, with his exemplary wife, were the sweetness of his life, but nothing could withstand the force of this whirlwind, and he abandoned his practice entirely, and once more, but this time voluntarily, became a bookseller's hack, a translation-slave!

To get a living as a translator was hard enough for a young student with only himself to care for, but to keep a wife and a large family all accustomed to plenty and comfort was quite another matter. At one stroke he reduced himself and his wife and children to penury and want, and this for conscience' sake!



And yet he knew but too well the pinch of poverty and the weirdness of want.


What a contrast this with some of the young men of our own day, whose doctrine is expediency and fashion, and who deem the chance of a hospital appointment or a professorship a fair exchange for their modicum of conscience, and who coolly say, "Homœopathy is true, of course, I know that well enough, but *if I say so*, what chance have I of becoming Surgeon to the Infirmary, or Lecturer at the Medical School?"

Well, we must remember that there is the wrong, and the Nemesis of wrong, too. These men (save the mark! I mean these social eunuchs) who thus deny or ignore the truth for mere expediency and supposed social advantages,

will, nevertheless, attain to nothing. Why? Because I find it written in the Big Book that "whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."

But to return. Hahnemann removed, we saw, to his old Leipsic that was not specially propitious to him at any time, and again took up his old book-making drudgery; read his foot-notes to his translations from this period, and behold the bitterness in his soul.


When some of *us* feel bitter and downcast at being debarred from some coveted social or professional preferment for conscience' sake, let us just look at this period of our master's life, and we shall feel that ours are as the piping times of peace to the horrors of war.



Are you weary of the story of these dismal days of doubt and despond? Bear with me yet a little, and let us see how he bore his burden.

After a certain time he found that he no longer earned sufficient to pay the expenses of town life in Leipsic, and so we find him removing to a village outside of the town, in the hope that his literary earnings might suffice to keep the wolf from the door. He there clad himself in the garb of the very poor, wore clogs of wood, and helped his wife in the heavy work of the house, and kneaded his bread with his own hands! And the blatant ignoramuses who forge medical history, and who rule the rostrum in medical societies, ask the world to believe that

Samuel Hahnemann was a lover of lucre, and a man given to gain! But poor Hahnemann had not yet drunk the dregs of his misery; as things got worse and worse, and his daughters and his wife began to reproach him for sacrificing the amenities and comforts of life for seemingly chimerical dreams, his cup was full. Yet his firmness of character and his rooted steadfastness in his consciousness of right kept him up, and he worked on, perhaps with a faint inkling of a great something to come. But his cup of misery, though full, had not yet run over, but even this was to be. *Several of his children fell ill.* Now he was in the Slough of Despond indeed. He, the accomplished physician has given up physic as worthless, and



see! his own children fall ill! In despair he cast about for the right remedies and found them not; yet he seemed certain that they must exist. Writing to Hufeland, he exclaimed, "Oh! I cannot believe that the almighty and fatherly good of Him whom we cannot even call by a name worthy of Himself, Who so freely cares even for the tiniest of His animate beings that are invisible to our eyes, Who freely lavishes life and plenty throughout His whole creation, I *cannot* believe that He should inevitably deliver over His dearest and highest creatures to the pangs of disease." We thus see that he did not despair of a Healing Art; but, on the contrary, was firmly convinced that nature was replete with elements and

forces for such an art, and that they were present in plenty all around. He also did not deny the possibility of a science of medicine, but the then existing methods and systems were demonstrably and in his own experience false; on the contrary, he evidently did believe in a science of medicine that was yet to be found, but how to find it he did not see.

This brings us to the threshold of the discovery of Homœopathy. Here we have the soil tilled ready for the seed; an invisible power sowed the seed, and the harvest is sure. We are about to part with the pre-homœopathic Hahnemann, but before we do so let us just run back over the ground we have traversed; let us picture to ourselves the

boy studying in his father's house by the light of a little lamp made of clay with his own hands ; let us follow him from the national school up to the grammar school ; let us realise him at the age of thirteen giving lessons in the mystic language of the Hebrews, and let us go with him, the accomplished youth, to Leipsic, silent in eight tongues, and watch how he toiled for bread, and studied amid such difficulties a system of medicine that he was destined in the full ripeness of manhood to cast away as worthless.

But enough ; time presses, so we must hurry on to that point in his history whence arose a thought that grew so mightily that it has revolutionised medical society, and cast down the old idols

from the high places to make room for a truer Æsculapian cultus.

A French biographer tells us that chance led Hahnemann to the discovery of homœopathy. Nay, I cannot believe it; chance never did such a mighty thing. Chance may roll up a bit of clay, or perpetrate a daub, but chance does not mould such an exquisite model or paint such a perfect picture. I see the hand of Providence in this thing; if chance did it, I, individually, have lived in vain.

DAWN OF HOMŒOPATHY.

The renowned Scotch professor Cullen once wrote a remarkable work on *Materia*

Medica that has gained much in reputation by having been rendered into German by Hahnemann. Perhaps the world does not owe much to South America, but it owes Cinchona to it, and we are not usually specially grateful for the benefactions of the Jesuits, but for once we may think kindly of them for bringing us over *the* bark which has immortalised them in every marsh of the world. Cinchona * has probably saved more lives than any other remedy in the pharmacopœia, and to it we owe the discovery of homœopathy. Hahnemann went to

* Proud science owes its knowledge of Cinchona really to the Indians, and these first ascertained its antiperiodic property by drinking the water of the swampy pools in which the Cinchona trees stood ; so they really got a natural cold infusion.

Transylvania, as you know, and studied ague in the Danubian marshes ; he not only studied it in others, but he had it himself. When Hahnemann was living in the country near Leipsic clad in homespun and clogs, he got an order from a publisher to translate this *Materia Medica* * of Cullen so our own tongue had a share in the great discovery, and I think Cullen had more to do with paving the way for it than is generally thought. In all his translations Hahnemann had the habit of writing footnotes, often sitting heavily on his author's shortcomings;

* *William Cullen's ABHANDLUNG über die MATERIA MEDICA nach der nunmehr von dem Verfasser selbst ausgearbeiteten Originalausgabe ÜBERSETZT UND MIT ANMERKUNGEN von Samuel Hahnemann, der Arzneikunde Doktor. In 2 vols. Leipzig, 1790.*

and it is in one of these footnotes to his translation of Cullen's *Materia Medica* that homœopathy dawns upon us. Not the homœopathy of Hippocrates, nor the homœopathy of the writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, but the scientific homœopathy that is based upon the proving of drugs on the healthy as shadowed forth by the genial Stoerck, and incidentally taught by the immortal Haller.

I believe it has been asserted that the Irish Physician, Crumpe, was before Hahnemann in trying drugs on the healthy. This statement is not correct. I beg leave to show you Crumpe's most interesting and scientific "Inquiry into the Nature and Properties of Opium," which you will see was published in this

City in 1793. (Antonius Stoerck was, however, before Hahnemann, in this respect.)

Hahnemann's Translation of Cullen's *Materia Medica* bears on its title-page the date 1790, that is ninety years ago (and three years before Crumpe's work). It was published in two volumes, and these two ragged old books I take the liberty of showing you also, both on account of their great historic interest as the birthplace of homœopathy, and because of their being decidedly rare books.

Here arose a therapeutic thought that has not so much *reformed* the practice of medicine as *revolutionised* it.

There is a slight indication of a crude kind of homœopathy in this Translation

anterior to the Cinchona episode. If you look at p. 17 of Vol. ii. you will find this foot-note in regard to the use and utility of astringents:—"Acids have likewise the power of bettering a weak stomach that has a tendency to produce a morbid *acidity*, as, for instance, sulphuric acid."

The influence of the great Cullen upon the ripe mind of the discoverer of scientific homœopathy has not been, I think, sufficiently dwelt upon.

Cullen, at the beginning of his work, gives us an exhaustive history of *Materia Medica* as found in pharmacological works, and comes to the conclusion that the writings on this subject are in great part "a collection of errors and falsehoods." We can readily imagine

how consonant this was with the feelings of his translator at that period.

At the end of his History of the *Materia Medica*, Cullen faintly apologises for his almost wholesale condemnation of the writers on that subject, and says that a number of the public may be dissatisfied with his judgment thereon. To this Hahnemann remarks:—"The translator does not belong to this number. For having himself read, compared and thought over most of the older writers and many of the newer ones quoted by Cullen, so that the *non habet osorem nisi* might not be applied to him, he is constrained in a general way to subscribe to Cullen's opinion *with all his heart*. Dioscorides and Schröder, with all their shallowness, in-

definiteness, old women's stories, and untruths, have all along been slavishly worshipped (with but few exceptions); and neither the old fathers themselves nor their weak disciples deserve to be spared." "We must," continues Hahnemann, "tear ourselves by very force away from these worshipped authorities if we in this important part of practical medicine are ever to be able to cast off the yoke of ignorance and superstition. It is indeed high time that we did!"


So you see the sceptic Cullen had found a congenial translator in our Hahnemann, and we can fancy with what eagerness the latter went on from the iconoclastic to the re-constructive Cullen. Hahnemann was looking with

keen pleasure on the idols Cullen had cast down and smashed.

Now said he to his hero Cullen, give us something better; let us have a really scientific *Materia Medica*.

Hahnemann was already hungering and thirsting after a scientific therapeutics, and translating Cullen rendered him starving and famished: Hahnemann was longing for the bread of science; Cullen gave him the stone of hypothesis!

Thus he still craved for something better. For it must not be lost sight of that Hahnemann *had never for a moment lost faith in the efficacy of given drugs*, but he yearned for a fixed unalterable law according to which drugs in general might be used. He was sure it existed




somewhere close by, but where? How was it to be found?

Yet Cullen came very near the proving of drugs on the healthy; he discussed all possible ways of finding out the remedial properties of drugs, and cast them all away one after another just as Hahnemann does six years later in his "Essay on a New Principle." He enters into the question of the trial of drugs on animals, and rightly remarks that this mode can have but a very limited application; our allopathic friends still cling to this method which their own Cullen for the most part condemned ninety years ago.

Cullen even went so far as to mention the trial of drugs on the human body, but he merely mentions it in passing,

and he seemingly meant the ordinary way of trying them on the *sick*. After he had upset every thing he simply put up a counterpart of the old idol he had himself but just demolished. Yet I think Cullen's *tabula rasa* greatly helped Hahnemann in his discovery of scientific homœopathy, inasmuch as it cleared the ground for the homœopathic edifice. Hahnemann himself would most probably not be conscious of this ; great minds read books and nature, and often build up new structures with very old material. Then it is the trite old story of Columbus and his egg.



HOMŒOPATHY LOOMING THROUGH
THE AGES.

Gentlemen, will you allow me here to interpose a somewhat long parenthesis by way of setting forth some forecastings of homœopathy. I fear I shall have to trouble you with a few rather dry quotations, but the line of thought which I am following necessitates it.

It is often said that homœopathy existed before Hahnemann. So it did, just as gravitation existed before Newton. Even a little more than this, for

the formula *similia similibus curantur* may be found in authors, from Hippocrates onwards, from some of whom Hahnemann himself quotes (Organon). Nay more, I have myself works from the 16th and 17th centuries in which the question is clearly argued, viz., Whether are diseases best cured by similars or by contraries? There is a whole literature on the subject principally in the 16th and 17th centuries. I have read quite a number of these works with avidity, and have been more than once on the point of declaring that this was the pit whence Hahnemann dug his homœopathy. How true it is: *Die Welt liebt, das Strahlende zu schwärzen!* More than once I have gravely doubted Hahnemann's honesty in this particular,

but wrongly, as I now know. The subject is too vast to be largely entered upon here,* but I will give you the conclusion to which I have come. THE HOMŒOPATHY OF HAHNEMANN HAS NOTHING WHATEVER TO DO WITH THE HOMŒOPATHIES OF THE PARACELSISTS, HERMETISTS, AND IATROCHEMISTS, *i.e.*, nothing whatever beyond the *mere notion* of healing by similars; yet

* For a masterly contribution to this subject see *Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Homœopathy*, by R. E. Dudgeon, M.D. London, 1854. This incomparable *savant* here traces the homœopathic *idea* all through medical literature beginning with Hippocrates. I cannot, however, subscribe to several of his conclusions. By the way, nothing gives one such an exalted conception of literary labour as trying to do it one's self!

And still better than Dudgeon's is de Gohren's.

I shall submit that the suggestive value of these other homœopathies was great to him in thinking out his own scientific system. You will therefore see that those who quote triumphantly from these various authors to show that our homœopathy was an old affair, and needed no Hahnemann to discover it, have merely skimmed the surface, and run away with an entirely false impression. Honesty compels me to confess that I was myself, for a time, in doubt. Let me ask, if it was already there, why did not somebody use it and *teach* it? Scientific homœopathy was *not* there, but only its foreshadowings.

Just to give those younger colleagues, who may not be familiar with the details of this part of our subject, an

idea of what the homœopathies of these others consisted in, it will suffice to state that their homœopathies were of various kinds, and principally of these four—

Firstly. The doctrine of signatures,*

* A modern supporter of the practical value of the Doctrine of Signatures is M. Chassiel : *Des Rapports de l'Homœopathie avec la Doctrine des Signatures, Lettre à M. le Dr. F. Frédault*. Paris, 1866. This is an honest work, seemingly aimed at M. Teste, who had *entrevu* the principle of *ubi malum ibi remedium*, without referring to Porta or Crollius. Chassiel starts a fifth notion of healing by similitudes, viz. (p. 48), *diœcious plants cure contagious diseases* : "*La similitude avec le mode de propagation*." But all this is not homœopathy.

The best historical essay on the subject with which I am acquainted is :—*Medicorum Priscorum de Signatura imprimis plantarum doctrina*, autor F. L. A. H. de Gohren. Jena, 1840. This is an inaugural thesis, giving a faithful account of it, and, of course, ridiculing it.

for instance the juice of the *Chelidonium majus* is yellow; the bile is yellow; like cures like, *ergo*, *Chelidonium majus* is a remedy for bad bile; a *remedium ictericum*. If you take a walnut and remove the hard shell carefully, and take a thoughtful look at the surface of the kernel, and note its *sulci* and *gyri* and hemispheres, you will get a *simile* of the brain surface. Therefore walnuts* are good for the brain and a reliable *remedium encephalicum*; and so on.

Secondly. Parts of the macrocosm (the

* The similitude of the walnut with the head is complete:—1. The outer covering of the shell corresponds to the *scalp*.—2. The shell to the *skull*.—3. The membranous covering of the nut to the *meninges*.—4. The kernel to the brain.

What has this to do with our scientific homœopathy?

world) as compared to supposedly similar parts of the microcosm (man's body). For instance, the sun in their pharmacology was the metal gold, which was therefore called *sol*.

In the microcosm, or man's body, the heart is the sun, or *sol microcosmi*. Like cures like ; therefore gold is a good cardiac. Silver is the moon—*luna*,* the *luna microcosmi* is the brain ; therefore, silver is a brain medicine. And so forth.

Thirdly. Animal parts to cure similar human parts : for instance, a fox's lung, in pulmonary affections. This is the crude prototype of Schüssler's clever

* The curious in etymologies will note that this old designation of silver (*luna*) survives to this day in our *lunar* caustic—the nitrate of silver.

notion with his Tissue Remedies, and the lamented Grauvogl a few years since recommended the *Pulmo Vulpis* for asthma. This idea is as old as the hills.

Fourthly. Certain types of disease prevail in certain regions of the earth; in these same or similar regions their remedies are to be found *ubi malum, ibi remedium*. Thus in cold, damp places we find the *Solanum Dulcamara*, therefore *Dulcamara* is remedial of the diseases of such places. Cinchona has a malarial habitat: it cures malarial diseases.* A modern example of this might be found in the

* We may laugh at this anthropoteleological contemplation of natural things; but suppose *we* had the ordaining of nature, *where* would *we* have put the Cinchona tree?

undoubtedly anti-rheumatic virtues of the willow,* which grows in wet places where rheumatism abounds, as some of us know but too well.

Now Hahnemann had *evidently* read these sixteenth century homœopathies, no other hypothesis is conceivable in one of his extensive reading, and they enlightened him no doubt very considerably by setting him thinking about *a* LAW of healing, and as to whether diseases are best cured by likes or by contraries, but they could not have taught him more, they could not have given him *his* homœopathy for the best of all reasons, viz., that the scientific homœopathy of Hahnemann has nothing

* The willow (*Salix* whence our Salicin) was of old in good repute as a febrifuge.

to do with either the doctrine of signatures, the relationships of the macrocosm to the microcosm, the cure of human organs by giving the corresponding organs of animals as remedies, or with the apparent fact expressed by the words: *ubi malum, ibi remedium*.

Thus we see that Hahnemann's homœopathy (our scientific homœopathy) has really nothing in common with those homœopathies which flourished in the sixteenth century and thereafter (as well as before) but the formula *similia similibus curantur*.

To *prove* this to you *in extenso* would carry us too far away from our present purpose.


But a consideration of this subject is, I submit, here not out of place, as it

helps to shed light upon the dawn and rise of our own Hahnemannian homœopathy, the more so as I am not aware that *this view* of the subject has ever been propounded ; these various homœopathies having been usually confounded, and regarded as identical with Hahnemann's.

That certain of these authors come *very near* to it, I freely admit ; and it will be right, even at the risk of wearying you, to show *how* near they came. Therefore I beg to bring to your notice one or two of the works bearing on *these* more or less *crude prototypes* of homœopathy that have led many sound scholars away with the idea that *our* homœopathy existed before Hahnemann.

For instance Fernelius argues *against*

the principle of healing by similars (Joannis Fernellii Ambiani, "Therapeutices Universalis," 1574, p. 6, c. ii. De Remedii Inventione). He says in effect that every disease is driven out by its contrary, but that many evert this great law, and affirm that diseases are cured by their similars. He then discussed the mode of action, of exercise in fatigue, of the vomiting which cures vomiting, and of the purgation which cures dysentery, and maintains that they are in truth examples of healing by contraries. Here Fernellius comes very near indeed to true homœopathy, yet only in arguing against it, and without comprehending its real essence. We may affirm that, with his crude conception of disease and of remedies, homœo-



pathy would indeed be an impossibility.*

I will not, however, stop to argue

* *Morbus omnis contrariis profligandus : contraria enim sunt morborum remedia. Remedium est quod morbum depellit : quicquid autem morbum depellit, id illi vim infert : quod vim infert, contrarium est : omni ratione igitur remedium morbo contrarium esse necesse est, omnemque morbi depulsionem atque curationem contrariis perfici Rata igitur constansque manet curandi lex per contraria. ARBITRANTUR PLERIQUE, MEDENDI SUMMAM LEGEM EVERTI, DUM MORBOS QUOSDAM AUDIUNT REMEDIIS DEPELLI SIMILIBUS. At ejusmodi omnia morbo licet similia sint, ejus tamen causae primum ac per se adversantur, morbo autem ex accidenti : huncque tollunt non per se, sed sublata ejus causa. Sic rheumbarbarum quamvis calidum febrem solvit, dum ipsius materiam expurgat. Et lassitudinem exercitatio lenit, quod humorem per musculos effusum discutiat. Et vomitionem sedat vomitio, quae proritantem humorem excutiat. Et dysenteriam purgatio levat, noxia materia ejus efficiente*

the points which he raises, as I merely wish to show that the *idea* was prevalent, and I quote from Fernelius as an out-and-out opponent of it.

That he was a staunch adherent of the principle *contraria contrariis curantur* may be seen from his introduction to the fourth book, p. 126: "Nullus igitur affectus subsistere potest in nobis, cui non pariter contrarium quiddam tanquam remedium illa protulerit."

He nevertheless discusses the use of *Pulmones vulpecularum* in asthma, and explains their action on the ground of *similitude* and *affinity for the offended*

causa detracta. Ad eundem prope modum frigidae larga perfusio convulsionem (ut est apud Hippocratem) (Aph. 25, lib. v.) solvere putatur. . . . Sunt autem ejusmodi omnia curando affectui vere contraria, etc.

parts; and Dr. Sharp, F.R.S., will be interested to learn that Fernelius terms their *mode* of action *antipathia*.

Dr. Dudgeon quotes Rivière on the side of the law of similars, but Rivière argues hotly *against* it. Dr. Dudgeon also credits Paracelsus with being in possession of enough knowledge of drug pathogenetics to lead us to suppose that he (Paracelsus) had conceived and taught our Hahnemannian homœopathy; this is decidedly erroneous. It is quite true that Paracelsus was a very close observer, and an original and deep thinker, but he nowhere teaches that his notion of similars was based on knowledge of the pathogenetic effects of drugs. And not only so, but he clearly inculcates the doctrine of signatures and

the similitudes of the macrocosm with the microcosm. No doubt he understood and taught organopathy, *i.e.*, local drug-affinity, though, of course, somewhat crudely.

Riolanus was also an opponent of the idea of healing by similars ; the gist of what he says in his "*Ars Bene Medendi*," Parisiis, 1601 ("*De Remedio*," s. iv. c. 1, p. 12), amounts practically to this, that all diseases are necessarily cured by contraries, and then he indulges in a little innocent fun at the expense, as he supposes, of Paracelsus, and of the Paracelsic signatural homœopathy.*

* *Ergo morbi omnes contrario curantur. Sit hoc primum inveniendi remedii principium, quod in genere breviter declaratum sequentibus libris singulorum morborum et remediorum comparatione fiet notius. Velim interea lec-*

Having given one or two opponents of the principle of *similia*, I will ask you to listen to me while I adduce a couple of advocates of it.

The following article was copied verbatim by Mr. W. H. Heard, of St. Petersburg, as it appeared in the *Daheim*, No. 16, of 17th January, 1880, under the heading, "Zur Geschichte der Homœopathie":—

"So far back as the seventeenth century Homœopathy was understood

torem observare quam sapienter Paracelsus suae medicinae contrarium jecerit fundamentum, Morbos *omnes sanari similibus*. Quod si contrariorum contraria sint consequentia, sanitas autem servetur similibus, quis non videt morbos abigendos esse contrariis? Nonne morbus cum sit hostis naturae se depellendum indicat! at simile non agit in simile, contrario igitur profligandus.

and preferred to Allopathy by Paul Fleming, a celebrated poet, who was at the same time a physician. In his poem to his friend Dr. Hartmann the following passage occurs :—

“A clever physician takes his remedies from substances which cause the harm : removes a craving for salt with salt, puts out fire with flames, a thing not understood by many. You contract the art by doing so little with much ; you ought to make much out of little. A grain should be more efficacious than a long draught capable of doing harm to a butcher. We have got rid of the old fancy. Who is there now who will commend the doctor simply for his deserving the thanks of the chemist who prefers the latter mode to the former ;

and must then the poor patient's weakness be redoubled by a heavy potion?' etc."*

* "Schon im XVII. Jahrhundert kannte Dr. Paul Fleming, der berühmte Dichter, der zugleich auch Arzt war, die Homœopathie und gab ihr vor der Allopathie den Vorzug. In seinem Gedichte an Dr. Hartman, seinen Freund, findet sich folgende Stelle :—

‘ Ein kluger Arzt der nimmt
Da seine Hilfe her, von was der Schade kömmt
Lös't Salzsucht auf durch Salz ; löscht Feuer
aus mit Flammen.
Was mancher nicht begreift. Ihr zieht die
Kunst zusammen,
Macht wenig aus so viel. Ihr wirket viel durch
wenig
Von Euch thut ein Gran mehr, als jener langer
Trank,
An dem ein Fleischer wol sich möchte heben
krank
Wir sind nun überhoben
Der alten Fantasy. Wer will den Arzt noch
loben
Um dass er nur verdient des Apotheker's Dank

And Mr. Heard in a letter to me observes :—

“This remarkable extract deserves a place by the side of an equally interesting acknowledgment made about the same time by Johan Faramund Rumel, physician to the Duke of Anhalt, and evidently a disciple of Paracelsus, in his work entitled, ‘*Medicina Spagirica.*’ The passage is brought forward in the *Populäre Homœopathische Zeitung*, 1871, No. 10.”

So you perceive, gentlemen, that every one looks upon all these various notions of healing by similars as identical with

Der doch dies setzt vor das. Soll man die
armen Schwachen
Durch einen schweren Trunk noch doppelt
schwächer machen?’ etc.”

the scientific inductive homœopathy bequeathed to us by Hahnemann.

Now let us glance at the author thus introduced by Mr. Heard ; he says :—

“ For every spirit must be modified by that which is the most intimately related to its own nature (*simile a simili curari*), and herein we see the difference between the Hermetists and the Gale-nists.” Then :—

“ And thus it is with the diseases in the elemental fire, air, and water, and in like manner must these same be helped and *ever must like help its like*.*

* *Medicina Spagijrica Tripartita*, oder Spagijrische Artzney Kunst in dreij theil getheilet. Authore, Joanne Pharamundo Rhu-melio. Franckfurt, 1662. Editio Secunda (date of first, 1630).

In the *Compendium Hermeticum*, c. ii., p. 3,

We have already seen that Rhumel was a Paracelsist, and we note that he puts the date of Hermes in the time of Moses, when the law of similars was (he says) first committed to writing.

Rhumel's homœopathy (like that of his master Paracelsus) consists in the doctrine of signatures, and generally in the similarity (and equality) of the *major mundus* to the *minor mundus*.

we read : Dieweilen ein jeder *Spiritus* allein begehrt von demjenigen *mutirt* zu werden das seiner Natur am hefftigsten verwandt ist (*Simile a simili curari*) dardurch der *Hermelisten Galenisten* Unterschied kund und offenbar. Then (c. iv., p. 11) . . . Also auch wird eine Krankheit im *elemento ignis, æris, vel aquae microcosmi*, so müssen ihr dieselbig auch zu hülff kommen, und ALLEZEIT MUSS GLEICHES SEIN GLEICHES HELFFEN.

This he makes perfectly clear ; indeed of all the Paracelsists, he is, perhaps, the least mystic, and his writings constitute a good introduction to those of Paracelsus himself. Thus he says (c. vi., De Curatione Morborum, pp. 82-83) :—

“With regard to the cure, it is either general or special, and takes place either in the common, or Galenic way, or else after the manner of the new Hermetic or Paracelsic medicine, in which we must include natural *Magia*. As for the ordinary Galenic mode of treatment, I will pass it by in silence rather than make much ado about it, SO THAT I MAY NOT OPEN THE WOUND AFRESH. This consists in stubbornly maintaining : *contraria contrariis curari debeant*.

But on the other hand the old

Hermetic method of treatment is far preferable, as daily experience teaches us, for by it the human body may often be cured (with the help of God) even of diseases commonly considered incurable, as we can sufficiently testify from our own humble experience.* This consists in the formula *similia similibus curentur*.

* Die *curation* belagend, ist dieselbe *generalis* oder *specialis*, und geschieht entweder auff die gemeine oder Galenische Weise, oder aber nach Art. der newen *Hermetischen* unnd *Paracelsischen Medicin*, neben welchen auch die naturliche *Magia*, was bisshero durch die gemeine Galenische Art zu *curiren* verrichtet, will ich lieber stillschweigend vorbeij gehen, als davon viel Klagens machen, DAMIT ICH DIE WUNDE NICHT ERFRISCHE. Welche darinn beharrlich besteht: *contraria contrariis curari debeant*.

Was im Gegentheil die alte Hermetische art zu *curiren praestiret*, lehret die tägliche Erfahrung, und wird der Menschliche Leib so

He then goes on to enlarge upon the *sympathia*, and *antipathia*, and the concordance of the macrocosm with the microcosm.

There are a number of other authors, some of whom are quoted by Dudgeon, who write in the same strain, but these examples suffice for our present purpose. Rhumel's remark about not being willing to "open the wound afresh," shows that a bitter controversy had been carried on between the Galenists and Hermetists about the principles of similars and contraries.

dadurch vielmals glücklich von auch unheilbar gehaltenen Kranckheiten (mit Göttlicher Hülffe *liberiret*), wie auch unsere wiewol geringe *experientz* genugsam bezeugen. Diese beruhet in dem: *quod similia similibus curentur*.

Dudgeon (op. j. cit.) shows that even popular preachers referred to the controversy in their sermons.

Gentlemen, I much fear you are finding these arid quotations a little tedious, but I want to *prove* not only that these old authors had crude inklings of a law of cure by similars, but that the coming event *did* cast a shadow before it, and that this shadow led Hahnemann to the substance.

It is very important to dwell a little on this foreshadowing, because it has been urged by no less a man than Sir Robert Christison as an argument against our scientific homœopathy, that no such shadow had been cast before the coming event ; so Sir Robert's objection falls to the ground. You know

this had already been amply proved by Hahnemann, and since by Dudgeon

You will, perhaps, ask the very pertinent question: Did Hahnemann himself claim to have originated the *notion* of healing by similars? No, he did not. He rightly claimed to have seen the substance of the various fitful and flickering foreshadowings, and to have transformed a semi-superstitious inkling into an inductive science. Let us see what he says on the subject in his "Organon."

The copy which I have at hand is the fourth Leipsic Edition (1829), and from this I quote. On page 51 he gives examples of involuntary homœopathic cures wrought by the physicians of the old school. He mentions the

palliative mode of treatment according to the law *contraria contrariis*, and then remarks :—


“By observation, reflection, and experience, I found that, on the contrary, the true, right, and best way of healing is to be found in the formula : *similia similibus curentur*. In order to cure gently, quickly, certainly, and enduringly, you must in every case of disease choose a remedy that is itself capable of producing a complaint like the one it is to cure (*ὁμοιον πάθος*).

“This homœopathic way of healing has thus far been *taught* by no one, nobody has *carried it out* [in practice]. [The italics are Hahnemann’s own.] But if the truth lie solely in this proceeding, as you will see with me, then it may be

expected that, admitting that it had not been *acknowledged* for thousands of years, nevertheless traces of it may be found in all ages. And thus it is."

He then goes on to argue that all real cures by remedies in every age have been according to the law of similars, although the physicians who prescribed the remedies were not aware of the fact.

And in a foot-note he says: "For truth is co-eternal with the all-wise beneficent Godhead. Man may long leave it unnoticed until the time comes when, according to the decree of Providence, its bright sheen shall irresistibly penetrate the fog, and appear as the aurora of the morn and the dawn of day to shine brightly, for the weal of mankind for evermore."



Further on (p. 102) he quotes real *inklings* of scientific homœopathy ; but they were mere inklings, and remained such, and no one *taught them* or *put them into practice*. Hahnemann remarks in a foot-note (p. 102) that he gives these examples of inklings of Homœopathy not as proofs of a really founded homœopathy, but *so that he may not be reproached with having purposely ignored them in order to secure for himself the priority of the idea*.

Thus you clearly perceive that he does not lay any claim to having *originated the idea of healing by similars*.

To my mind all these historic inklings very much enhance Hahnemann's great merit as an original thinker, and as the founder of scientific homœopathy. I do

not, however, think that Hahnemann was himself acquainted with *all* these ink-lings at the time of his great discovery, most probably he hunted many of them up afterwards. I also question very much whether he had himself a clear conception of *how* the idea *first* came to him. He must have gradually *thought it out*, and applied the result of his experiment with cinchona to the *idea*, or conversely.

Hahnemann's position with regard to the *notion* of healing by similars is also very prettily and clearly indicated *by himself* in his historical communication to Guizot. Writing to this great man in 1835, on the question of homœopathy, Hahnemann quotes the following lines from Béranger :—

Combien de temps une pensée,
Vierge obscure, attend son époux !
Les sots la traitent d'insensée ;
Le sage lui dit : cachez-vous.
Mais la rencontrant loin du monde
Un fou qui croit au lendemain,
L'épouse ; elle devient féconde
Pour le bonheur du genre humain.

Till Hahnemann, homœopathy was an obscure, wandering and despised maiden thought, awaiting marriage with a male mind ; this thought became united with Hahnemann's mind, and fecundity followed for the weal of mankind.

You will readily admit that familiarity with these sixteenth century writers in *their* homœopathies, and on the question of whether diseases are best cured by contraries or similars would prepare Hahnemann's mind for his own scientific induction. Nay, perhaps you will

even admit, with me, that had he been unacquainted herewith, his historic proving of Cinchona might not have eventuated as it did in the establishment of scientific homœopathy.

For we admit that Hahnemann did not *originate* the *conception* of a law of cure by contraries or by similars ; neither did he *originate* the *idea* of the trial of drugs on the healthy human organism.

Baron von Stoerck tried medicines on himself ; Haller, and possibly others also. Crumpe's* trial of opium on him-

* Before venturing to publish his work on Opium, Crumpe submitted the MS. to Dr. Gregory of Edinburgh. Dr. Gregory "read it with attention," and considered that "as a book of medical science it possessed considerable merit." But Gregory was led to no law

self and others, in health, is, as you have seen, subsequent to Hahnemann's.

Haller's position may be seen in the Preface to his *Pharmacopœia*, where he clearly enunciates the principle of trying drugs on the healthy in these words. . . .

Primùm in corpore sano medela tentanda est, sine peregrina ulla miscella, exigua illius dosis ingerenda et ad omnes, quæ inde contiguas affectiones, qui pulsus, qui calor, quae respiratio, quænam excretiones attendum.

by it any more than Crumpe himself. So we see that the mere fact of carefully conducted experiments with drugs on the healthy did not of itself lead to the discovery of homœopathy, any more than did the various inklings of real homœopathy, or the various notions of healing by similitudes already alluded to.

Indè adductum phaenomenorum in sano obviorum transeas ad experimenta in corpore aegroti." *

Let us now just glance at a veritable forerunner of Hahnemann:—I mean the Danish regimental surgeon Stahl, whom Hahnemann refers to in his "Organon" (p. 104).

The passage runs thus: "The rule that is generally accepted in the medical art, to cure by means of oppositely-acting remedies (*contraria contrariis*) is quite false, and the very reverse of the truth; on the contrary, he (Stahl) is convinced that diseases yield to and are

* This is the birth place of the modern physiological phase of allopathy, to which the rank of a science cannot be denied, *i.e.*, the science of *palliative* medicine; homœopathy being the science of *curative* medicine.

cured by a remedy that can produce a like affection (*similia similibus*)—burns, by being brought near a fire, frost-bitten limbs by the application of snow and very cold water, inflammation and bruises by distilled spirits ; and thus he was in the habit of treating a tendency to acidity of the stomach by a very small dose of sulphuric acid with the most happy results, in cases in which a number of absorbent powders had been used in vain.”

But Stoerck also seems to have come very near to it.

Anton Stoerck (*Libellus quo demonstratur : Stramonium, Hyosciamum, Aconitum non solum tuto posse exhiberi usu interno hominibus, verum et ea esse remedia in multis morbis max-*

ime salutifera. Vindobonae, MDCCLXIJ.)
tried drugs on himself on June 23,
1760 * by rubbing some fresh stramony

* But Stoeck had already previously tried remedies on the healthy. See his *Libellus de Cicuta*, Vindobonae, 1760 (c. i. p. 8). He first gave cicuta to a dog, and :—"His audacior redditus, in me ipso experimentum feci. Mane ac vesperi sumsi granum unum hujus extracti, et vasculum unum infusi theae hausi desuper. Diaetam tunc paulo strictiorem observavi, ut ilico (sic) adverterem, si quid insoliti in meo corpore fieret." It did him no harm. Then he increased the dose, but still obtained only a negative result. What was his conclusion? "Jam ergo optimo jure et salva conscientia hoc in aliis mihi licuit tentare."

That was the extract. "Quae autem radici cicutae vis inesset? quoque scire volui."

The significance of this question is seen in Stoeck's answer to it. He says: "Radix recens dum in taleolas discinditur, fundit lac, quod gustu amarum et acre est. Hujus lactis unam alteramve guttulam linguae apice deli-

on his hands to see whether the dictum of the botanists,—*Si tantum olfeceris stramonium, ebrietatem facit*,—was correct, but no ebriety followed. This emboldened him. Then he and his famulus cut up a quantity and rubbed it up in a mortar, and expressed a suc-

bavi. Mox lingua facta est rigida, intumuit, valde doluit, et ego nec verbum loqui poteram. Sinistro hoc eventu terrefactus multum timui."

This was much relieved by lemon juice, so that the pain and tension were so far better that he could just lisp a few words (*balbutire*). In two hours he was all right.

He then took the dried root, reduced it to powder, and found it "*minus nociva*." He therefore prepared a *dry* extract . . . "tunc fit extractum minus efficax, attamen utile."

Did this lead Stoerck to use *cicuta* (*conium maculatum*) for a painful tumid tongue with loss of speech? By no means, but for indurated glands!

cus. Then he slept in the same room with it and got a dull headache. Then he made an extract and put a grain and a half on his tongue, and pressed it against the palate, and so on.

But his object was *not to discover* an explanation of its *modus in morbis operandi*, but to find out whether such a poison could be safely exhibited as a remedy. That is a very different thing to Hahnemann's first trial with cinchona thirty years later.

Stoerck's next step after determining that the extract of stramony might be safely exhibited to human beings (I beg to show you the work, you will find this narrated on pp. 7, 8, and 9)—his next step was this:—

“Agebatur” (says he) “tunc de

morbo, in quo conveniret, et de aegris, quibus prodesset." To this end he consulted both the older and more recent writers,* but found nothing to favour its use as a remedy. He exclaims : " Etenim omnes scribebant :

" Stramonium turbare mentem, adferre insaniam, delere ideas et memoriam, producere convulsiones."

All this, says he, is bad, and forbids the internal use of stramony. Here comes a memorable sentence,—memorable, that is from our present scientific standpoint :

" Interim tamen ex his formavi sequentem quaestionem :

" *Si* Stramonium turbando mentem

* Thus you see he made no attempt at induction.

insaniam sanis, an non licet experiri: num insanientibus et mente captis turbando, mutandoque ideas, et sensorium commune adferret mentem sanam, et convulsis tolleret contrario motu convulsiones?"

These are the nearest approaches to our scientific homœopathy with which I am acquainted, and *how* near too! Yet they resulted in nothing beyond enunciating *the ODD notion** of healing by similars, and establishing the fact that moderate doses of stramony may be safely given in disease, and that it causes and cures insanity and convulsions.

Stoerck † here came *so* near to dis-

* Not a *law*.

† Oddly enough, Stoerck's bitter foe, de Haen

covering scientific homœopathy, that, with our present light, we may marvel that he did not do so.

I submit that these near approaches of Stoerck and many others to the discovery of our great law, with the trial of drugs on the healthy, and the very question formulated by Stoerck himself in such clear language, prove how much was necessary for its discovery. Stoerck (and most of the others) wanted three things: 1. The true spirit of philosophy.

(*Ratio medendi*, Tom. iv. p. 228), almost stumbled against our scientific homœopathy, for he says: "Dulco-amarae stipites majori dosi convulsiones et deliria excitant, moderata vero spasmos, convulsionesque solvunt." Well may Hahnemann remark, "How near de Haen was to recognising nature's law of healing!" (*Organon*.) Yet he did not. The mighty genius of a Hahnemann is not often found in nature's children.

2. The requisite leisure and the habit of *thinking deeply*. 3. A knowledge of the history of theories of drug action.

Stoerck came to the very verge of the discovery of scientific homœopathy, and nevertheless did not see it; this is *proved* by reference to his later works. Thus if you refer to his “*Libellus, quo demonstratur: Herbam, veteribus dictam Flammulam Jovis,*” etc., Viennae, 1769, you will find that he had rather retrograded, as he there only tried it very superficially on lower animals, and not on man at all, by way of proving it.

These facts give us, better than anything I know, an adequate conception of Hahnemann’s true greatness. Had Hahnemann stumbled against homœopathy, as so many did, or formulated Stoerck’s

question in 1790, he would have infallibly discovered scientific homœopathy. Had Stoerck been a better read man, with a little more of the spirit of philosophy, and been also an impecunious physician who had given up practice for conscience' sake, he, too, must infallibly have discovered *the* therapeutic law that leads us, and we should have to-day met at a Stoerckian Address. But Stoerck was a baron of the empire, and court physician, and too much success does not conduce to mental progress and development.

It is fortunate for mankind that Hahnemann's noble conscientiousness had reduced him to beggary. Had he too been a baron of the Holy Roman Empire, and court physician, we should

not have been here to-day, for the doctrine of healing by similars had been freely discussed for centuries, and yet homœopathy was there only as a portentous shadow.


Progress in science is not made by big bounds with great gaps between, but rather bit by bit, one succeeding another unconnectedly, and then comes a third connecting the two. So was it, I submit, with the scientific homœopathy of Hahnemann. Drug physiology had just dawned, and may be said to have existed as an odd notion. The question of *a* law of similars was there looming through the ages, and awaited, in the language of Béranger, as an obscure maiden thought for a husband ; this she found in the male mind of Hahnemann.

For what was the use of these two without the connecting link? None, and the absolute proof of this lies in the fact that although they were there, still there was no scientific homœopathy.

This ends my long parenthetical chapter ; let us now return to Cullen.

HOMŒOPATHY AS A SCIENTIFIC INDUCTION.


We can readily imagine how Hahnemann would receive any new hypothesis anent the *modus operandi* of cinchona. He knew well enough that this remedy *did* cure certain forms of ague, just as



he knew that arsenic would cure other forms of the same disease, *but according to what law, how?*

Cullen said the bark cured ague because it was a bitter and an astringent combined, and at the same time somewhat aromatic, a tonic and a roborant. It strengthens the stomach and thus cures ague as a roborant stomachic. Thus, for Cullen, cinchona is a bitter, astringent, aromatic, roborant, stomachic tonic!


Surely it was not needful to clear away all his predecessors from the pharmacological field in order to set up such a worthless hypothesis; no wonder Hahnemann in his turn dealt with Cullen as Cullen had dealt with his predecessors. Here is Hahnemann's historical



footnote: "By uniting the strongest bitters with the strongest astringents you may get a compound that in a small dose shall possess much more of both qualities than the bark, and yet you will in all eternity never obtain a fever specific from such a compound. Our author should have settled this point. It will not be such an easy matter to discover the still lacking principle according to which its action may be explained. Nevertheless, let us reflect on the following: Substances such as very strong coffee, pepper, arnica, ignatia, and arsenic, *that are capable of exciting a kind of fever,* will extinguish the types of ague.* For the sake of ex-

* You observe Hahnemann already knew something of the pathogenetic effects of drugs.

periment I took for several days four *quentchen* of good cinchona twice a day ; my feet, the tips of my fingers, etc., first became cold, and I felt tired and sleepy, then my heart began to beat, my pulse became hard and quick ; I got an insufferable feeling of uneasiness, a trembling (but without chill), a weariness in all my limbs ; then a beating in my head, redness of the cheeks, thirst, in short, all the old symptoms with which I was familiar in ague appeared one after another, yet without any actual chill or rigor. In brief, also those particularly characteristic symptoms such as I was wont to observe in agues, obtuseness of the senses, the kind of stiffness in all the limbs, but especially that dull disagreeable feeling which seems



to have its seat in the periosteum of all the bones of the body—they all put in an appearance. This paroxysm lasted each time two or three hours, and came again afresh whenever I repeated the dose, but not otherwise. I left off, and became well.” (pp. 108, 9, Vol. II.)

On the next page, Cullen seeks to defend his hypothesis against all comers, and hereto Hahnemann adds this remarkable footnote. By the way, Hahnemann's footnotes are very like the traditional postscripts to ladies' letters—they are the most important parts of the whole. Well, the note is this:—“We readily see how sorry our author is, not to be able to fell his opponents to the ground with all their objections to his mode of explanation. His zeal seems

particularly directed against those who always have the vague word *specific** in their mouths when they discourse of the Bark, without knowing what they really mean by it. But had he for a moment reflected that one can prepare from an extract of quassia and oak apples a far more powerful astringent bitter than cinchona is, but which nevertheless

* There is too great a tendency amongst us now to degenerate into mere homœopathic *Specifiker*; witness Dr. Yeldham's Presidential Address at the Leeds Congress, 1880. No doubt it *is* good, nay very good to be a homœopathic *Specifiker*, but it is better, very much better, to be an *individualising* homœopath. I do not claim to be any better than my neighbours: almost daily I find myself slipping back into the royal road of treating the disease in lieu of the patient. Individualising is *so* laborious, and still too far in advance of the homœopathic medical mind.

cannot cure a quartan fever that is half a year old ; had he scented in the Bark *a power of exciting an artificial antagonistic fever* (&c.), most certainly he would not have so zealously stuck to his own hypothesis."

You will note, gentlemen, that here, at the birth of scientific Homœopathy, ninety years ago, Hahnemann's conception of homœopathic drug action in disease is that of *antagonism* to it ; he speaks of the cinchonic fever as artificial and *antagonistic*, *i.e.*, antagonistic to the ague which it cures by reason of its similarity. This has been lately presented to us as something new, with vain verbosity ; but the babe is no more, having succumbed to antipathy. The fact is, the number of men who

persist in burning farthing rush-lights of their own, is verily not small. Another reason this for an *annual* Hahnemannian Lecture, so that the old lamp may not be allowed to choke up with the soot of neglect. For we cannot afford to give up the grand electric light of homœopathy for the faint flickerings of these tiny tapers.

Two or three pages further on we already find Hahnemann individualising, for he speaks of the cinchonic fever as of a particular kind (*von besonderer Art*, p. 117).

We now proceed to take leave of the *pre-homœopathic* Hahnemann, to learn how he thought out his Homœopathy from this cinchonic artificial fever which he had produced in himself.

Before doing so, let me express a hope that no one here is yawningly saying to himself:—

“ Hier auf diesen Bänken
Vergehen mir Hören, Sehen, und Denken.”

In 1795 the renowned Hufeland began his “*Journal der practischen Arzneikunde und Wundarzneykunst*,” in Jena. Hahnemann and Hufeland were of the leading medical men of the day, and personal friends; the latter was then professor of physic in Jena. In the first volume (1795) Hahnemann is quoted on the treatment of an important affection. In the second volume (1796) the historic cure of Klockenbring is mentioned.


In this same volume we find Hahnemann's celebrated “*Versuch über ein*

neues Prinzip zur Auffindung der Heilkräfte der Arzneisubstanzen, nebst einigen Blicken auf die bisherigen," which must be regarded as the starting point of the greatest revolution in medicine that the world has ever witnessed. In this masterly Essay he undermined the whole then existing fabric of practical medicine, and laid the corner stone of scientific therapeutics, by enunciating the law of healing by similars, based on the effects of drugs on the healthy human body. I feel it is utterly impossible for me to do justice to this wonderful Essay, or to the majestic modesty of its style. You all know it well; and, although it was published eighty-four years ago, our very presence here to-day is its echo.

HAHNEMANN THE HOMŒOPATH.

We have at last come into the presence of Hahnemann the Homœopath. Of course a little country village like Stötteritz was not the place in which the founder of a new system of practical medicine was likely to be content to remain. Not because a physician's skill should be measured by the number of inhabitants of the place he lives in, but because a village does not offer the requisite material for testing a new doctrine of practical physic.

The iconoclastic Hahnemann goes *pari passu* with his upbuilding of a



new teaching, and herein lies his vast superiority over all other medical reformers. He does not merely knock every thing down, and then leave everybody staring hopelessly about in anarchic chaos as did Cullen, but he skilfully uses the *débris* of the demolished edifices for the erection of his own. Having been set thinking by his trial of cinchona that grew out of his translating Cullen's *Materia Medica*, he returned to his old love, the practice of medicine. Very fortunately he obtained a post as medical superintendent of an asylum for the insane at Georgenthal in the Thuringian forest, which was offered him by the Duke regnant of Saxe-Gotha. Here he wrought the cure of the wonderfully gifted Hanoverian Minister Klocken-

bring, who had been driven mad by a withering satire of Kotzebue; an account of the case was published (you will find it in the "Lesser Writings"), and it very naturally created a considerable stir in Germany, where Klockenbring was at the time a kind of Lord Beaconsfield. Perhaps the most remarkable part of this case lies in the fact that Hahnemann gave bodily freedom to his maniacs, and in general treated them with kindly benevolent mildness.

Thus we see that Hahnemann must be regarded as the pioneer of a rational treatment of the mentally afflicted. He has left on record that he never allowed any insane person to be punished by blows or any other pain-giving bodily

infections, inasmuch as there cannot possibly be any punishment, properly so-called, where there is no real responsibility. For when the law shuts up an individual in an asylum, such person thereby receives the stamp of irresponsibility.

Hereupon we find Hahnemann again on the wander after a stay of only a few months at the asylum; he is first at Walschleben, then at Pyrmont, then at Brunswick, then at Wolfenbüttel and finally at Königslutter where he remained till 1799.

You remember that his famous experiment with cinchona was in 1790; and during the nine years that elapsed between this and his being driven out from Königslutter he had tried his new

notion, and found it the basis of a scientific therapeutics. It is no wonder that Hahnemann was restless, and given to roaming during these nine years, for he must then have begun to realise the immense range of his new idea, he must have foreseen that it would bring about a total *bouleversement* of time-honored physic.

At Königsutter he gradually ripened into a scientific practitioner, for he gave one medicine at a time, and that according to the law of similars. And he, moreover, made use of only comparatively small doses; of course, these were material and appreciable; but, remember, this was eighty odd years ago, when a physician who dared to give one medicine at a time was looked at askance

both by his colleagues and by the apothecaries—especially by the apothecaries. It is still a very suspicious thing to give but one medicine at a time. At that period an orthodox prescription was half a foot long, and contained a score of invaluable ingredients, and a mysteriously occult art lay supposedly in the mode of combining them in such proportions and degrees that they should be at any rate a mighty mystery to the less canny colleagues. We are told that in these latter days *nous avons changé tout cela*, and that the allopaths and homœopaths are now all alike in their mode of practice.

Well let us compare the prescriptions of our most eminent allopathic practitioners; we have them daily in our

hands, and we see them in our literature ; judging from these I must affirm that the general run of allopathic practice of to-day is, taken for all in all, no better than it was a century ago, and that because their principle is wrong. I have taken the trouble to compare the papers on practical medicine that appear now-a-days in the *Lancet* with those that appeared eighty years ago in Hufeland's Journal, and with the single exception of bleeding I prefer those cases in Hufeland's Journal as less hurtful and less complicated, and some of them as at least empirically commendable.

But I am wandering away from my text ; yet having wandered so far, permit me to say before returning to it that when I speak of the "general run of

allopathic practice," I mean allopathy, and not homœopathy on the sly, or crypto-homœopathy that some of the writers in the "Practitioner" impose upon the credulity of their ignorant readers as discoveries of their own. For along the corridor of time I hear the voice of the sage of Coethen echoing the words, "*Hos ego versiculos feci: tulit alter honores.*"

Homœopathy is homœopathy, whether openly and honestly taught within these walls or elsewhere, or sily smuggled into the students' skulls at certain colleges and schools. Professor Bathyllus * has carried on this smuggling business for a good many years, and his pupils are

* Quamobrem donatus honoratúsque á Cæsare fuit.

beginning to fill the other chairs of medicine throughout the country ; but I have yet to learn that plagiarism is so far condoned as to be converted into honesty by social success.

Gentlemen, do not misunderstand me ; I am *not* pleading for privileged schism and narrow sectarianism, as do the allo-paths by crying themselves out from the very housetops as the Levites of the Ark of the Medical Covenant. No ; I am merely maintaining that homœopathy is the mental property of Samuel Hahnemann, and of such of his disciples as have contributed to its development and propagation, and honestly give honour to whom honour is due. Science is the common property of mankind ; the *honour of her discoveries* is private property.

The mean-souled Bathylluses of our medical colleges may impose upon beardless boys raw from the schools, but they cannot, in the very nature of things, own what belongs to another man, although that other man be dead. Hahnemann *is* dead, it is true, and cannot appear in the flesh to claim his own; but he has followers still, who dare stand up and maintain that with all respect for professional unity, with all regard for professional brotherhood, there cannot be any real unity in the profession so long as common honesty is banished from its portals, and the premium of professional rewards is put upon plagiarism. In my opinion the man who knowingly appropriates another man's discoveries, and debits them

as his own, is to all intents and purposes dishonest; and *the more so* as he is beyond the reach of ordinary laws.

Gentlemen, you are perhaps shocked at my making use of such a strong expression. Be shocked rather at the THING, not at the WORD. I would I could call it by some other name that, being more euphemistic to your ears, were still as true to fact; but I cannot. Throughout the profession—may God forgive them—the great name of Hahnemann is shamelessly maligned, while at the same time his life's labour is being appropriated by the pilfering professors of our schools. And the worst thing about it is that the present generation of students are thus deliberately demoralised by being taught

to sacrifice moral principle for mere expediency ; taught at the very threshold of life to gain a cheap pseudo-success, to crown themselves with tawdry tinsel in lieu of earning a really golden crown that comes only to honest truthful labour.

Tell me, you with hoary heads, and you who have only the silvery streaks of time to mark the years which have gone, what has helped *you* most in the march of life thus far? Was it public applause, or the still small voice within that kept you up in the most trying hours of your life's battle? Have you unexpectedly triumphed over disease and death at your isolated posts with the aid of the doctrine of expediency? I trow not.

Alas ! that the brightness of the honour

of our students should be tarnished by the example and precepts of their own teachers before the trials and temptations of real life begin. *C'est le premier pas qui coûte*, and hence the future of such is not bright. Of the original Bathyllus we read that after a while . . . *Romae fabula fuit, Maro verò exaltator*. So it will be in this matter ; if not, it will be the fault of our future Hahnemannian lecturers.

MILITANT HOMŒOPATHY.

I come back now and ask you to fix your attention for a moment on the beginning of *militant* homœopathy,

and the hatred that is as alive to-day as it was eighty-one years ago, when bigoted ignorance and a degrading trades-unionism drove the enlightened and learned Hahnemann out of Königsutter. You know certain wiseacres say that the founder of homœopathy had himself to blame for this hatred by violently attacking his medical peers. Gentlemen, this is not correct. Permit me to point out that Hahnemann's violent language is found at a later date than 1799. Just turn to his "Essay on a New Principle," and point out one single unbecoming word, or one flash of passion: it is modest and dignified, and respectful to his fellows. I find nothing anterior to his departure from Königsutter that betokens

even the slightest anger or hatred of a blamable nature against his fellow practitioners. I maintain that up to the departure from Königsutter Hahnemann was filled with love and respect for his worthy fellow-physicians.

We are also told that it was *the small dose notion* that set the medical world against him. This is impossible, for the best of all reasons, viz., that when the opposition to him began, Hahnemann had not yet enunciated his doctrine of drug dynamization, and he himself was still using certainly small, but nevertheless moderate, material doses.

Then we are told that it was his notions about pathology, his doctrine of psora more particularly.

But, gentlemen, Hahnemann was dri-

ven out of Königsutter twenty-eight years *before* he called Stapf and Gross to Coethen to announce to them his theory of chronic diseases.

We, therefore, come to the inevitable conclusion that it was neither his vituperative language, nor his doctrine of drug dynamization, nor his psora doctrine, *because* none of those existed when the bitter persecution set in.

You probably remember the sweet little story of the lamb and of another quadruped that, I believe, was not a lamb; in that celebrated tale the water flowed up-stream.

So it must be with *militant* homœopathy in Hahnemann's person: for his personal persecution began in 1798, and in a most violent manner. If therefore

his violent language, or his small doses, or his psora doctrine set the medical world against him, they must have done so by anticipation, and the effect preceded its causes by a good many years.

Then it has been flaunted in his face that he went to the lay public with his discovery, and thus set the profession against him. This is equally untrue: Hahnemann published his "Essay on a New Principle" in the leading *medical* journal—I hold it in my hand. There it is. (Hufeland's.)

Moreover he kept within the most strict code of medical ethics.

Thus we see that the separation of Hahnemann from the profession did not come from him but from his beloved professional brethren, who thrust

him out, as they thrust you out, by forbidding freedom to openly and honestly practise according to the law of similars.

The vulnerable point with Hahnemann was this : at Königsutter he gave his own medicines to his patients, though gratuitously.


The physicians at Königsutter became jealous of his rising fame, and they incited the apothecaries against him, and these latter brought an action at law against Hahnemann for dispensing his own medicines, and thus encroaching upon their rights. It was decided against him : he was forbidden to give his own medicines, and this of course rendered his further stay impossible.

That was what these unprofessional

brethren wanted. The letter of the law was no doubt against Hahnemann, but the spirit of the law was in his favour, as were also justice and common sense. The injustice of the decree against him was all the more glaring because he was a recognised authority on the apothecaries' art, and had thoroughly qualified himself as an overseer of chemists, and had actually been in such a position before. Then already, in 1787, Hahnemann had published a kind of adaptation of a pharmacological work from the French of Van den Sande (Brussels, 1784), entitled "*La falsification des medicamens dévoillée.*"

But this work is completely put into the shade by his "learned and laborious Pharmaceutical Lexicon."

It is important to know that in Germany the pharmaceutical chemists are under the control and supervision of the medical officers of health, the *Stadtphysici*, who are necessarily medical men. The Stadtphysikus of a given district, must visit the chemists' shops of his neighbourhood at stated intervals to see that the proper drugs are in stock and good. Now Hahnemann had years before held such a post, and his books were actually the authorities for the chemists and their respective overseers. I dwell on this because it explains to us how flagrant the injustice done to him was : he the great authority in pharmaceutical chemistry was prohibited from even giving his medicines away for nothing ! Nay more, he was *such* an




authority on all matters pertaining to the apothecaries' art that some of his detractors on that very account maintained, and maintain it still, for I have heard it with my own ears, that he was not a physician at all in reality, but an apothecary!! The fact is, Hahnemann was a master in *materia medica*, whether such medical material be on the chemists' shelves, in their original habitats, in the laboratory, in the healthy human body, or in the sick.

Driven out of Königsutter in 1799 by the persecution of the profession, he wended his way to Hamburg. Of course in those days there were no railways or any of the furniture-moving vans that render *our* flittings

comparatively small affairs. In 1799 it was no small undertaking to remove with all the household gods from Königs-lutter to Hamburg. At that time those who moved to some little distance used to buy a van or wagon for the purpose ; this Hahnemann did, and put his wife, children and movable property in it, and went out of Königs-lutter, as the Vicar of Wakefield left his parish, accompanied on the road for some distance by those who had received his benefactions.


No doubt Hahnemann left Königs-lutter with a heavy heart, for he had there begun to taste of the sweets of comfort once again, he had there put his divine discovery to the test ; he had there discovered the prophylactic virtue



of Belladonna in scarlet fever, he had there proved to his wife that his days of clogs and homespun, at the village by Leipsic, were but a, perhaps necessary, preparatory trial to a mighty future, like a run before a long leap, on the principle of "*Reculer avant de sauter.*" There happened a terrible epidemic of scarlet fever at Königsutter during the last year of his stay there, and his discovery of the brilliant curative and preventive virtues of Belladonna in that dire disease—discovered by means of the law of similars—enabled him to save the lives of very many of the inhabitants. Hence you will not marvel that so considerable a number of them came out with him, and accompanied him some way on the

road to Hamburg before bidding him
“ God speed.”


What was the frame of mind of the gentle and genial Hahnemann as he thus wended his way towards Hamburg, with all that was near and dear to him of this world's blessings—driven away from those who loved him and thought thankfully of him for saving their lives—driven away from a certain material prosperity to strange uncertainties. This journey was destined to become memorable, for an accident happened to the waggon : it was upset going down a hill, the driver was thrown off his seat, Hahnemann and his whole family and all his goods were thrown together into one confused mass ; he himself was injured, the leg



of one of his daughters was fractured, his infant son mortally injured (he died shortly afterwards), and his goods were much damaged by falling into a stream at the bottom of the hill. With the help of the country folks, they were got to the next village, where he was compelled to remain for six weeks on account of his daughter's fractured limb—thus he would, of course, fritter away any little savings from Königsutter.


However, he eventually did reach Hamburg.

I think a good deal of Hahnemann, myself, yet I do not think he was other than a man, but he *was* every inch a man; so I can in thought put myself into his place, and methinks he may have solemnly cursed his professional



persecutors as he lay at yon village with destroyed property, a bruised body, his daughter with a broken leg, and his baby son sick unto death.

Undoubtedly a change came over him after this, and he began gradually to assume a very haughty and bitter tone, and this eventuated in very strong language indeed. But not by any means too strong, in my humble judgment. Let me put it to any one of you, gentlemen, what sort of language would *you* use if you were thus driven out of house and home over and over again, and reduced to poverty, simply because you knew more, and worked harder, and cured better and more pleasantly than your neighbours? Especially if your favourite baby-boy was killed in conse-



quence, your daughter's leg broken, and you yourself bruised and hurt?

I do not claim divine qualities for Hahnemann, and hence I not only do not blame him for his bold independence and daring, but think it right and reasonable. Even the divine Nazarene was once filled with anger. The departure from Königsutter is the starting-point of Hahnemann's freedom, and considering that he was then forty-four years of age, and in mental grasp and medical knowledge vastly superior to even Hufeland, "the Nestor of German Medicine," I think the time had come for a breaking loose from the trammels whereby professional jealousy sought to reduce him to the low level of a mere medicine monger.

We once again find Hahnemann on the wander; Hamburg failed him, and he went to the neighbouring town of Altona, and not faring there any better, he removed to Möllen in Lauenburg. But here a violent longing for his fatherland came over him, and he retraced his steps back to his beloved Saxony, and planted himself at Eulenburg. Here he was again persecuted by his professional brethren through the medical officer of health of the place, and driven thence.

We find him in Dessau in 1803 writing a book against the use of coffee, that was, and is, the favourite beverage of the Germans, especially of the women and poor, as much as tea is with us. Those who are familiar with the insides

of German hospitals know that cases of chronic poisoning with coffee are by no means rare even now ; to Hahnemann's antagonism to coffee we owe the popularity of cocoa amongst the homœopaths, the earlier homœopaths recommending it in lieu of the forbidden coffee.

Then Hahnemann published a translation of an English work called the "Treasury of Medicines," evidently much against the grain, and shortly afterwards wrote a German adaptation of J. J. Rousseau's "*De l' Education*," and he translated Haller's *Materia Medica* in 1806. From the time of his flight from Königsutter in 1799 till now he was maturing his discovery and fixing it.

His "Æsculapius in the Balance" is

a work wherein allopathy is weighed and found wanting in such a masterly way that it would no doubt create many most implacable enemies. But this "*Æsculap auf der Wagschaale*" was not published till 1805, and Hahnemann's persecutions began six years previously. In this same year we have the first sketch of a "*Materia Medica Pura*" in Latin, under the title of "*Fragmenta de viribus medicamentorum positivis*," etc., and in the following year his "*Medicine of Experience*." Dr. Dudgeon justly characterises this as "the most original, logical, and brilliant essay that has ever appeared on the art of Medicine." Hereupon a whole flood of calumniators and detractors fell foul of the common enemy, Hahne-

mann, and no wonder, considering human nature is what it is; and there is a good deal of this human nature in our beloved profession now as well as then. Hahnemann received for his remarkable discoveries nothing but opposition, hatred, contempt and calumny from his medical brethren. At length he could stand this no longer, and he appealed from the prejudice and injustice of his professional brethren to the public, and henceforth published his essays and papers in a magazine of general literature and science entitled *Allgemeiner Anzeiger der Deutschen*. In this journal he published a series of brilliant essays that won for homœopathy the support of the general intelligent public, and, as Dud-

geon* puts it—"The doctrines which were scornfully rejected by the scribes and Pharisees of the old school found favour with the public, and the number of his admirers and non-medical disciples increased from day to day." In 1810 he published the first edition of his great "*Organon*," and then returned to Leipsic, where he soon became surrounded by a numerous crowd of patients, admirers, and followers.

It is a great wonder that the abuse and calumnies hurled against Hahnemann and homœopathy at this time, and during the following two decades, did not drive him mad. But it did

* The preceding paragraph is also nearly word for word from Dudgeon, as are likewise several others further on.

nothing of the kind, though it must have rankled in his sensitive soul. Happily, Hahnemann treated them all with silent contempt, and worked away at proving medicines and collecting pathogenetic symptoms, and in 1811 he began with the first volume of his glorious *Materia Medica Pura*, that constitutes the grandest monument ever erected to or by any physician since the world began. He no doubt said to himself, Ye poor fools, ye know not what ye do. In all Hahnemann's chequered career nothing strikes me as showing more profound wisdom than his letting his adversaries alone in their vile abuse ; he might have hurled back their slanders, and defended himself and his discovery with the elo-

quence of a Demosthenes ; but, as Celsus remarks, *Morbi non eloquentiâ sed remediis curantur*,* and so he plodded on at his *Materia Medica*, on which much of his great glory must ever rest.

At the period at which we have now arrived, viz., 1811, Hahnemann's great idea was to establish a *Leipsic School of Homœopathy*, for the purpose of indoctrinating the rising generation of physicians with homœopathy, both theoretically and practically, by founding a college with hospital attached. So you of the London School of Homœopathy are strictly Hahnemannian in your efforts in this direction sixty-

* Diseases are not cured by eloquence but by remedies.

nine years after he tried to do the same in Leipsic.

He had, however, to content himself with giving a course of lectures on the principles and practice of homœopathy to those medical men and medical students who wished to be instructed in the subject.

To this end he had to obtain permission from the Medical Faculty to become a Privat-Docent. This was readily granted, most probably in the hope that in defending his thesis he would show himself to be the ignorant shallow character which his detractors had announced him to be. So the day for defending his thesis arrived, and the subject thereof was *De Helleborismo Veterum*, which, as Dudgeon

truly says, no one can read without confessing that Hahnemann treats the subject in a masterly way, and displays an amount of acquaintance with the writings of the Greek, Latin, Arabian, and other physicians, from Hippocrates down to his own time, that is possessed by few, and a power of philological criticism that has been rarely equalled. At this period Hahnemann was fifty-seven years old, and became at last teacher in that university in which he had been taught thirty-seven years previously. Here he lectured to medical men and students, and attached a number of these to himself, and here he built up that grand pharmacological edifice in which we reside. Hence we may truly say,

as we luxuriate in our splendid *Materia Medica*,

Hahnemannus nobis hæc otia fecit.

He remained at Leipsic till 1821, and was enjoying a very large practice, and making untold converts to his new system and had then attained to the age of sixty-six. But his professional brethren in Leipsic could not bear his success; they could find nothing against him; he led an exemplary life almost entirely in the bosom of his own numerous and happy family; he was almost worshipped by his patients, and he was already at the head of a considerable number of talented physicians who had declared for homœopathy. They tell

us that Hahnemann voluntarily created a schism, and thus set the profession against him. I deny this. He did every thing in his power, even at this late period, to infuse his reform into the profession itself; the profession spurned him and his better way. Is he not, at the very time of which we are treating, public lecturer on homœopathy in the University of Leipsic? Did he not qualify himself for the post in the ordinary legal way? Did not the dean of the Faculty warmly congratulate him on his marvellous display of learning when publicly defending his thesis: *De Helleborismo Veterum*?

The medical profession expected he would come to grief in defending his thesis, and they were there to witness his

downfall ; he did not fall, however, but rather so staggered his opponents with his great learning that none of them any longer dared hope to hurt him on that side. Then they tried it on at his lectures in the Leipsic University, but they found in him their master, they could not impeach him for anything or even cook up a scandal against him.

So they resolved to play the old game that had succeeded so well at Königs-lutter twenty-two years previously ; they incited the guild of apothecaries against him for giving away his own medicines ; this was the great crime of the noble old seer.

An injunction was obtained against him, and he was forbidden to give his own medicines under pains and penal-

ties. He was urgently advised to defy the law and give his medicines secretly, but his noble mind revolted against such a proceeding, and his great respect for the law deterred him, moreover, from even attempting to infringe it. It was impossible for him to prescribe his medicines from his bitterest enemies the apothecaries, because some of the remedies he made use of were not kept by them, others they did not know how to prepare, and, moreover, he could not trust his bitterest foes. Hence he had to quit Leipsic, and his much loved Saxon fatherland. At this time Hahnemann was the most celebrated physician of his country, and drew many from far and near to consult him. In consideration of this and in considera-

tion of his advancing years—he was over sixty-six—one might have thought that the kind and gentle old man would have been spared by a liberal profession of which he had been so distinguished a member for forty-two years. But no; he had to leave the place that had become dear to him and find a new home once again.

We thus note that Leipsic expelled Hahnemann in 1821 because he dispensed his own remedies! There is no doubt but Hahnemann was very much distressed at this treatment. You remember he had been a student at Leipsic, and this city was, therefore, the site of his youthful castles in the air; it was there, too, that he had got

into the terrible slough of despond from which the cinchona experiment saved him ; and it was there he had at last triumphantly taught where he had laboriously learned so many long years before ; and it was there too that he had his first disciples whom he loved so much. *But his expulsion from Leipsic was necessary for the further development of his system.**

The reigning prince of Anhalt-Coethen was an ardent admirer of Hahnemann, and he offered him state rank and protection at his little capital, Coethen, which Hahnemann accepted, and thereby immortalised both the prince and his capital.

* I refer to his biopathology, that is *true* in *nature* and ridiculed in books.

At Coethen Hahnemann may be said to have entered into a haven of rest. There I take leave of him.


When I go over his wondrous life, I am profoundly impressed with his greatness as a mere man; he taught Hebrew at the age of thirteen; he knew eight languages when he went to the university at twenty; he became a doctor of medicine at twenty-four; he lived to be nearly ninety, and laboured all the time, certainly he was a hard worker for eighty years; throughout the course of this long life I do not find one single shameful act recorded against him by real history. Of how many men can we say as much? He was indeed a great and almost a perfect man.

As a physician he stands exalted far above any the world has ever seen since the time of the divine Hippocrates. As a physician he was, indeed, incomparable; his was, and is, the truest definition of the real physician, viz., one whose sole business is that of healing the sick *cito, tuto et jucunde*.

And looking back now on the vast vista of his medical life, how can we refrain from exclaiming—

Ecce Medicus, “Behold the physician!”

Lastly, let us look at the lessons of his life. From his boyhood, from his youth, from his manhood, and from his



old age we learn industry, perseverance, love of learning, devotion to science for the direct benefit of mankind, singleness of mind, sterling irreproachable honour and probity, not having regard unto man merely, but having a firm faith in God—in a word, *he dared to be wise.*

He sowed immortality, and deathless is his fame.

And finally, Gentlemen, if you ask me where his monument is to be found, my answer is : Look around you !

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